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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Stephen Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Mary Louise Harmon, Linda Lau, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Mary Ann Taylor.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in January 1984)

AFRICA GENERAL

Charlton, Roger. "Predicting African Military Coups." Futures, August 1983, pp. 281-92.

Surveys current and past attempts by scholars to explain and predict coups in Africa. Because of the spate of instability between 1966 and 1970, many observers felt the question was not one of "whether" but of "when." In the 1970s as the number of coups declined, scholars took a closer look at non-military or "environmental" factors, such as the level of political party institutionalization. Some believed that coups could be explained and predicted with a degree of certainty; others felt that the personal ambitions of officers was paramount, thus nullifying coup prediction. The author believes that predicting specific instability is fruitless; however, he states that economic factors will have a growing impact on the future pattern of coups, and that incumbent military regimes will lean on their armed forces to defend against internal or external challenges.

Frost, John A., et al. "Soviet Assistance in the Horn of Africa: A Model for Potential United States Exploitation." Washington, D.C.: National War College, April 1983.

Soviet behavior in Ethiopia and Somalia is examined and compared to determine if a basic pattern has been followed which could be applied to general Soviet involvement in the Third World. The authors demonstrate that Soviet approaches in these two countries were nearly identical. They conclude that given similar conditions and opportunities in other Third World areas, the Soviet Union may pursue the same basic plan.

Le Gloannec, A. M. "L'Allemagne et l'Afrique: Une Prudence Efficace (Germany and Africa: Effective Caution)." Politique Africaine, June 1983, pp. 7-23.

The necessity of redefining a solid, coherent "Afrikapolitik" which characterized West Germany in the 1970s in part has been blunted. The West German Government now appears cautious to the point of being fainthearted. The paradox of this tentative and even contradictory policy is Germany's overall success in Africa.

Makinda, Samuel. "Superpower Interests in the Horn of Africa." Asian Defense Journal, December 1983, pp. 90-96.

Outlines US and Soviet objectives in establishing a military presence in Somalia and Ethiopia. The article contains three tables on Soviet ship activities in the Indian Ocean.

Mazrui, Ali A. "Political Engineering in Africa." International Social Science Journal, vol. 35, no. 2 (1983), pp. 280-91.

Mazrui examines some aspects of state-building in post-colonial Africa. Socialist government systems were particularly popular during the first

years of independence. Mazrui identifies factors which contributed to the favorable intellectual climate for socialism and then discusses sociological factors which militated against successful implementation of socialism. The article also examines political parties in Africa, discussing the link between party systems and civil-military relations. The disproportionate durability of single-party civilian governments and the vulnerability of multi-party systems to military intervention is underscored.

"U.S. Expansionist Policy in Africa." International Affairs (Moscow), October 1983, pp. 41-50.

An in-depth Soviet report on the growing US military presence in African countries. Lists Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Tunisia and Morocco as some of the 19 countries cooperating with the recently formed Central Command (CENTCOM). Also states that the United States has formed a "defense system" against Libya, Ethiopia, and Angola. Discusses the "constructive engagement" policy of the present administration toward South Africa and the significance of this policy with regard to military equipment sales and agreements.

BOTSWANA

"Botswana: Raiders Burn Village." Africa Now, December 1983, pp. 22-25.

Details the setback in relations between Zimbabwe and Botswana since early November when Zimbabwe National Army troops crossed into Botswana, burned the village of Maitengwe, and forced the inhabitants to flee. Describes the history of strained relations between the two countries since Botswana formerly supported the ZIPRA guerrillas led by Joshua Nkomo.

CAMEROON

Brionne, Bernard. "Nigeria-Cameroun: Similitudes et Dissemblances (Nigeria--Cameroon: Similarities and Differences)." Defense Nationale, November 1983, pp. 182-85.

Divisions based on a north-south/Muslim-Christian axis and political domination by a Muslim elite are shared characteristics of both Cameroon and Nigeria. With the accession of President Paul Biya, this domination appears to have ended in Cameroon; Muslims still dominate the political process in Nigeria. It is in class structure that the two countries are most different. Nigeria is one of the few African countries having a non-intellectual middle class.

CHAD

Amos, John W. "Libya in Chad: Soviet Surrogate or Nomadic Imperialist?" Conflict, vol. 5, no. 1 (1983), pp. 1-18.

The Libya-Chad axis provides Colonel Qadhafi with an ethnic and strategic corridor into sub-Saharan Africa. The Soviets' interests are being served to the extent that they could capitalize on the instability resulting from the Libyan "forward policy." However, the convergence of interests reflects a relationship that is one of mutual exploitation rather than client-surrogate.

Vincent, Georges. "Liban et Tchad (Lebanon and Chad)." Defense Nationale, November 1983, pp. 65-67.

Highlights French involvement in Chad. The logistical difficulties of Operation Manta are discussed. The French were forced to detour from a 6,500 kilometer direct route to one requiring a distance of 8,000 kilometers. The role of France in both Lebanon and Chad as "soldiers of peace" is approached cautiously, since in both cases the French are interposed among warring factions.

Zartman, I. William. "What's at Stake in Chad." Worldview, November 1983, pp. 4-7.

A comprehensive analysis of the current Chad situation which offers some positive guidelines for US, French, and African initiatives. Libya is presented not as an aberration but as a serious international player whose expansion into Chad fits Qadhafi's worldview. The United States is cautioned not to become too involved or it is likely to push Libya further into Soviet arms. All parties face serious constraints in seeking a peaceful solution. Chad may be the most serious test case for African unity. The OAU principles of indissolubility of frontiers and noninterference in the internal affairs of another state are being seriously tested by Libya. The author concludes that only a political solution, and not a military one, can be lasting.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

"UDEAC: Equatorial Guinea Seeks Membership." Africa Research Bulletin, 15 September-14 October 1983, pp. 6999-7001.

An optimistic overview of Equatorial Guinea's economy and economic potential as it is about to join the Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC). Membership in the Union (with Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, and the Central African Republic) is an economic necessity for Equatorial Guinea. The article stresses that although Equatorial Guinea will benefit from newly opened markets, it must rely on its own internal development first and foremost. In addition, Equatorial Guinea is carrying out oil exploration off Bata and Malabo islands.

ETHIOPIA

"Ethiopia: Locked in Combat." Africa Confidential, 21 September 1983, pp. 3-5.

Information on the various guerrilla groups in northern Ethiopia is provided. The most notable change has been the shift in TPLF focus since August from northwest Tigray to areas south of Tigray. The article gives several explanations for this shift. It also contains information on the "multi-national" Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM) which came into existence in May 1983 and which operates in Wollo.

Legum, Colin. "New Front Opens Up." New African, January 1984, pp. 33-34.

Colin Legum reports on the recent expansion of armed resistance into Wollo and Gonder provinces. A new political force has emerged, the Ethiopian

People's Democratic Movement (EPDM), which is a nationalist movement under anti-Soviet Marxist leadership. The EPDM guerrillas are being assisted by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). Also gives information on the security situation in Tigray.

GABON

Doey, Francois. "Gabon: Les Visages d'une Opposition (Gabon: Signs of an Opposition)." Politique Africaine, September 1983, pp. 13-30.

A series of short articles on the clandestine opposition in Gabon. Includes an interview with its leader and describes its program. MORENA, the Movement for National Reform, seeks to replace the government of Omar Bongo and opposes the law which created a one-party state. The ethnic basis of MORENA is largely Fang, the largest group in Gabon which is out of favor with President Bongo. Bongo also alienated the Roman Catholic elite by converting to Islam; this latent opposition was not dispelled by the visit of the Pope to Gabon. MORENA claims a large following in the Gabonese bureaucracy as well as among expatriates in France.

GHANA

Gagakuma, S. "Labour: Ghana's Other Export." New African, January 1984, p. 42.

At present Ghana is experiencing a "brain drain" to Libya. Although the government does not approve of this "drain," since Libya supplies Ghana with considerable amounts of oil and arms the government cannot simply shut off the flow. In addition, 90 percent of the salary of these workers is paid through the Bank of Ghana at the official exchange rate--a substantial source of revenue for the Ghanaian Government. Reportedly, there are many Ghanaians who oppose the government's "inaction." Leaflets recently appeared in Accra accusing Rawlings of selling Ghana to Libya.

IVORY COAST

"Houphouet Keeps Them Guessing." New African, January 1984, pp. 26-27.

The question of succession and possible instability resulting from no clear-cut successor worries many political analysts, but not President Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Ivorian politics is becoming more rough-and-tumble as contenders fight for recognition. In addition, economic problems, increased crime, and corruption are seriously worrying people. Ivory Coast may be turning its back on African immigrants, and fears that expulsions on the scale of Nigeria's action in January 1983 have surfaced.

KENYA

Wells, Rick. "What Mandate for Moi?" Africa Report, November-December 1983, pp. 10-13.

Results of the recent elections and President Moi's choices for his new cabinet indicate a shift in the direction of Kenyan politics. The Kikuyu and Luo are no longer in the mainstream of politics. Moi now has to face the

question of how to ensure political stability without these two major ethnic groups. Although this article does not present any new ideas, it provides a good short summary of recent Kenyan political developments.

LIBERIA

"Liberia's Doe Questions Army Loyalty." Africa News, 12 December 1983, pp. 1, 2 and 11.

Differences within Liberia's military over the ruling PRC's delays in returning to civilian rule reportedly may have been a key factor in the November 1983 coup attempt. Most of this article focuses on the split between President Doe and former Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces Brigadier General Quiwonkpa. Doe has suggested that Liberia's current "economic troubles" may delay the return to civilian government.

Momoh, Eddie. "Liberia: Tales of a Coup Plot." West Africa, 28 November 1983, p. 2716.

An account of developments in Liberia following an attempted coup in November 1983. Lists the conspirators and describes the government's actions against them. Momoh speculates that the coup was a result of "unease and uncertainty" within the People's Redemption Council following a major reshuffle in October. Predicts that this attempted coup will postpone the planned return to civilian government in 1985.

Versi, Anver. "Liberia: Thomas Quiwonkpa--the Chink in Doe's Armour." New African, January 1984, pp. 36-37.

An overview of events leading up to and immediately after the coup attempt in November 1983. The author concludes: "With the economy still showing no signs of reviving despite the draconian spending cuts imposed by the government, and army loyalties likely to splinter in the wake of the Quiwonkpa episode, Samuel Doe may well consider that his personal safety lies only in a stronger military dictatorship."

MOZAMBIQUE

"A 'Worst-Case' Scenario for Mozambique." Africa Now, December 1983, pp. 86-88.

The possibility of a South African invasion into Mozambique which could lead to the overthrow of President Machel, the seizure of Maputo, and a puppet administration in the south of the country is a real concern to Mozambique. The recent South African raids into Mozambique tested the country's defenses and clearly demonstrated South Africa's strike force capability. Machel has responded with purges and a restructuring of the armed forces, but a substantial and comprehensive package is needed to cope with the twin threats of South Africa and the MNR.

Legum, Colin. "The MNR." Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, no. 15 (July 1983).

An overview of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) including its history, sources of support, tactical flexibility, and leadership. FRELIMO's reaction to the seriousness of the MNR challenge is also discussed.

NAMIBIA

North, James. "Namibian Nightmare." The New Republic, 13 February 1984, pp. 16-18.

Details South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the policies of western democratic governments toward the apartheid state. Also discusses South African military actions in Namibia and Angola with reference to specially trained combat units currently fighting in areas of Namibia.

NIGERIA

Ate, Bassey Eyo. "The Presence of France in West-Central Africa as a Fundamental Problem to Nigeria." Millennium, vol. 12, no. 2 (Summer 1983), pp. 110-26.

French involvement in West-Central Africa impedes the "natural emergence" of Nigeria as the regional power, according to Ate. Encouraged by a substantial French economic, military, and cultural presence, most former French colonies have greater loyalty towards metropolitan France "at the expense of strengthening collective African ties, interests and identity." Ate, a research fellow at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs in Lagos, is very critical of French motives ("oil and uranium") and NATO support for French control in West Africa. "A strong military force and a self-reliant economy will confirm Nigeria's credentials as an alternative regional power to France."

James, Ibrahim. "Nigeria, Alien Influx and the ECOWAS Treaty." Geneve-Afrique (Geneva), vol. 21, no. 1 (1983), pp. 8-24.

An apologia for Nigeria's expulsion of illegal aliens in early 1983. The author contends that the huge influx of aliens into Nigeria following the oil boom seriously threatened Nigeria's political stability. In the long term, the author sees Nigeria as the seat of large-scale regional development, as envisioned in the ECOWAS treaty and community.

"Nigeria: The Inevitable." Africa Confidential, 4 January 1984, pp. 1-2.

The author states that the December 1983 coup was not a surprise. Throughout the past 12 months many Army officers reportedly openly discussed politics and the possibility of military intervention. Furthermore, according to unnamed Nigerian intelligence sources "there were about half a dozen coup plots in the first 9 months of 1983." The article looks at the reasons for the coup's success. In addition, it presents a who's who, and biographic information of leading members of the new Supreme Military Council (SMC).

"Nigeria's New Strongman May Enforce IMF Austerity." Business Week, 16 January 1984, pp. 94 and 98.

Despite the new military government's strict austerity plans, Nigeria needs hard cash to meet previous financial obligations. The article speculates that the Buhari regime may start an oil price war in order to get this cash. Petroleum presently makes up 95 percent of Nigeria's export earnings and 80 percent of government revenues. Due to declining production and prices,

Nigeria's oil revenues have declined 60 percent over the past 3 years. Despite the government's pledge to continue to work within OPEC's production guidelines, it may be forced openly or secretly to increase production to meet its needs.

SENEGAL

"Le Genie Senegalais et ses Activities au Profit de la Nation Senegalese [Military Engineering and its Activities for the Benefit of the Nation]." Freres d'Armes, November-December 1983, pp. 20-23.

The Armed Forces Engineering Corps has made major contributions to Senegal's infrastructure. It is on call in case of natural disaster, especially floods, and specializes in earth works and road construction. A major task was repairing the buildings for the National School for Active Officers at the abandoned base in Thies.

Gomis, Josph Raymond. "L'Ecole Nationale des Officiers d'Active de Thies (National Active Officers' School at Thies)." Freres d'Armes, November-December 1983, pp. 24-27.

A description of the facilities at the refurbished Thies base which have been turned into a training school for officers. A 2 year course of study is offered for new officers in parachuting, commando, and leadership. Although essentially a national institution, two candidates from Upper Volta are scheduled to enter the school for the 1983-84 term.

Oculi, Okell. "Senegal: Imported Rice and Religion." West Africa, 21 November 1983, pp. 2666-67.

A highly critical assessment of political and social conditions in Senegal. The contradictions of poverty and a highly Frenchified nightlife are ridiculed as well as the pandering of "marabout Islam" by the government to keep the people passive.

SEYCHELLES

Gavshon, Arthur. "A Tilt to the West?" Africa Report, November-December 1983, pp. 56-69.

As a result of a South African-backed attempt to topple the Rene regime in 1981, a mutiny in the army in 1982, and a succession of arson and bombing attempts against the government, the Seychelles has become a destabilized economy which is dependent upon a falling rate of tourism. The government has responded by modifying the country's stance in the international arena, accepting offers of cooperation and aid from both East and West, and modifying its voting pattern in the UN. The author interprets recent actions by the Rene government as suggesting a marked shift toward the West both functionally and politically, although the Rene regime does not see it this way.

SIERRA LEONE

Soudan, Francois. "Sierra Leone: Fin de Regne (Sierra Leone: End of a Reign)?" Jeune Afrique, 7 December 1983, pp. 44-45.

There are two major topics of concern and discussion in Sierra Leone today: the widespread political violence in Pujehun and Tonkolili districts and speculation on a successor to President Siaka Stevens. President Stevens is counting on military power to end the problems in Pujehun and Tonkolili. Among those most likely to succeed Stevens are First Vice President Sory Koroma, Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Conteh, the President's two sons, Jengo and Alex Stevens, and Minister of Finance Jusu Sheriff.

Wright, Royston. "Sierra Leone: Pujehun's Crisis Continues." West Africa, 21 November 1983, pp. 2660-61.

Wright is very critical of the government's handling of the violent political unrest in the Pujehun district. The government recently replaced the Special Security Division (SSD), "which is notorious for its ruthless suppression of any discontent," with Army units. Senior military men reportedly opposed sending in troops; however, the President overruled them. Wright contends that this unrest in Pujehun is "a political and not a military problem." The unrest began following "rigged elections" in Pujehun. According to Wright, other areas in Sierra Leone have "politically violent problems" as well.

SOMALIA

Arnold, Guy. "America's Ally in the Horn." Africa Report, November-December 1983, pp. 51-54.

The Somali Government wants and needs peace with Ethiopia, if only for reasons of economic survival. The author contends its chances of achieving peace depend on a Western presence in the area and Western economic aid. This accounts for the Somali Government's energetic pursuit of greater US commitment to the country and its desire for a more visible US presence.

SOUTH AFRICA

Callaghy, Thomas M., ed. South Africa in Southern Africa. New York: Praeger, 1983, 420 pp. Reviewed by Jennifer Seymour Whitaker in Foreign Affairs, Winter 1983/84, p. 476.

A comprehensive update on South Africa in its regional context. Contains essays on chromium, the ANC, the SADF, and Zimbabwe.

"The Case For South African Disarmament." Armed Forces, October 1983, pp. 20-21.

Appraises the recently released figures on South Africa's defense spending published in the Military Balance by the International Institute of Strategic Studies. The article examines the presence of actual military threats against South Africa and the Republic's ability to maintain modern military equipment and hardware, especially tanks and ships.

"Defence: Conventional Threat." Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 17 June 1983, pp. 1382-83.

Supports Chief of the SADF General Constand Viljoen's assessment that since 1977 the conventional military forces in potentially hostile neighboring countries have grown between 200 and 300 percent. Soviet supplies alone to Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Zambia over the past few years consisted of 135 combat aircraft, 527 tanks, 704 armored cars, 778 armored personnel carriers, and 738 medium artillery pieces. Even weak Botswana received 30 armored cars. A brief overview of long-term ARMSCOR weapons development plans is also discussed.

Dodd, Norman L. "The South African Army." The Army Quarterly and Defence Journal (London), vol. 133, no. 2 (1982), pp. 135-46.

A detailed overview of the South African Army. Special attention is given to the Army's various training facilities. Discusses the various non-white corps in the Army. Also looks at major types of Army equipment.

Hill, Christopher R. Change in South Africa: Blind Alleys or New Directions? Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1983, 224 pp. Reviewed by Jennifer Seymour Whitaker in Foreign Affairs, Winter 1983/84, p. 475.

A balanced assesement of changes in attitudes in South Africa. Presents the view that Afrikaner consciousness is changing in relation to the urgency of its situation. Describes influential groups ("agents of change"), including military decisionmakers in the State Security Council.

"The Militarization of South Africa." Parts I and II. Sechaba (London), May and June 1983, pp. 15-21 and 18-23.

The official ANC view of recent political/military developments in South Africa. Part I deals primarily with the rise of military influence in South Africa through the Vorster administration. Although the military was able to increase significantly its role in policy formulation under the Vorster regime, it was held in check by nonmilitary intelligence organizations, most notably BOSS. Part II deals with the rapid rise of the military under the current Botha administration. In sum, "the process of militarization will increase, as it is perceived by those in power as the only remaining viable option to ensure the survival of the racist regime."

"Military Role on the Rise in South Africa." African News, 10 October 1983, pp. 1-4 and 11.

According to two recently published studies in South Africa, South Africa's security establishment, particularly the military, is playing a central and expanding role in national policy formulation. The State Security Council (chaired by the Prime Minister and including the Ministers of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Police and Justice, the chiefs of the military and intelligence services, and the Directors-General from the Justice and Foreign Affairs ministries) reportedly has overtaken the Cabinet as the state's primary decisionmaking body. The Secretariat of the Council is dominated by the military. "As many as 70 percent of SCC Secretariat personnel come from

the SADF, only 20 percent from the National Intelligence Service (NIS), and 10 percent from Foreign Affairs." The South African Government describes the Council merely as an advisory body similar to the National Security Council in the United States. The article includes an organizational chart of South Africa's "National Security Management System: Key Components and Top Officials."

SUDAN

Oesterdiekhoff, Peter and Wohlmuth, Karl. "The 'Breadbasket' is Empty: The Options of Sudanese Development Policy." Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol. 17, no. 1 (1983), pp. 35-67.

The "breadbasket strategy" initiated by Sudan in the 1970s involved a restructuring of production and trade to take advantage of a regional Arab division of labor. Uses Samir Amin's model of accumulation to assess the structural deficiencies of the Sudanese economy. Concludes that the breadbasket strategy has not been a success and is not a viable program for the Sudanese economy.

Turner, Sue and Lusk, Gill. "Sudan: Nimairi's Jihad." Middle East Economic Digest, 18 November 1983, pp. 36-38.

Studies the economic implications of Numayri's imposition of strict Islamic law in Sudan. Most Western donors to Sudan are not pleased with this measure and are waiting to see the effects on business and government income from such sources as customs duties, hotel taxes, and excise revenue. In addition, Numayri's political standing has been called into question by the legislation.

SWAZILAND

"Swaziland: Lese-majesty." Africa Confidential, 16 November 1983, pp. 4-5.

A good overview of recent domestic political developments in Swaziland. The author concludes that "recent events have shaken Swazi confidence in the royal institutions, particularly in urban areas. There is no revolutionary ferment as yet, but if the door remains closed to any political evolutionary change, widespread unrest will probably lead to a radical coup."

"Swaziland: Next Stage in the Quietest Coup." Africa Now, November 1983, pp. 28-29.

Discusses the recent nonviolent coup against the Queen Regent of Swaziland and her replacement by another of the late King Sobuza II's wives, Inkhoshati Ntombi. The article analyzes the various factions involved in the coup. The old leaders oppose plans to place the army under government rather than royal control and supports the land deal with South Africa which would strip three-quarters of a million South African Swazis of their citizenship.

UGANDA

Mamdani, Mahmood. Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda. London: Heinemann Educational, 1983. Reviewed by Peter Willetts in International Affairs, Autumn 1983, pp. 770-71.

Mamdani attempts to show the relationship between Amin's dictatorship and international forces through a Marxist interpretation of Ugandan history. The book's three sections cover the historical background of colonial rule, the establishment of Amin's regime, and the bases for it remaining in power. The author's argument that all is explained by "imperialism" is insubstantial. He does not explain the deep roots of the Amin regime in Ugandan society.

UPPER VOLTA

Guillerez, Bernard. "Après le Liberia et le Ghana, le Haute-Volta Tombe aux Mains d'Officiers Populistes (After Liberia and Ghana, Upper Volta Falls Into the Hands of Populist Officers)." Defense Nationale, November 1983, pp. 185-188.

A rundown of personalities and events surrounding the coup of Captain Thomas Sankara. The revolutionary rhetoric of the new team is taken seriously as the latest coup is not dismissed as just another coup but as an adventure.

"Sankara's Revolution." New African, January 1984, pp. 24-25.

Close relations between Upper Volta and Libya preoccupy the Ivory Coast Government which fears Libyan inroads. Upper Voltan coup leader Thomas Sankara has "forged new steps" through closer ties with Rawlings of Ghana, by seriously seeking to end Upper Volta's long-standing conflict with Mali, and by joining other "progressives" like Benin. Ghana and Upper Volta recently held joint military exercises. The presence of Libyan advisers at the closing ceremony fueled suspicions of Libyan involvement. Perhaps to defuse tension, France announced that support for Ivory Coast did not include toppling regimes in neighboring states.